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VOL. XVIII, No. 6

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1924

WHOLE No. 483

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The Contents

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<i>Quotations for Practice</i>	<i>A Fable of Phaedrus (Adapt-</i> <i>ed)</i>	<i>Opening Lines of the Aeneid</i> (I, I-33)
<i>Latin Maxims, Phrases and</i> <i>Colloquial Expressions</i>	<i>Cicero's Eulogy of Caesar</i> (Cicero, Pro Marcello 4,5,6)	<i>Description of Rumor (IV,</i> <i>171-188)</i>
<i>Short Latin Sentences</i>	<i>Cicero Against Catiline</i> (Cat. I, 1-2)	<i>Advice of the Sibyl (VI,</i> <i>126-136)</i>
<i>Selections from Caesar's</i> <i>Gallic War (B.G. II, I;</i> <i>II, 35)</i>	<i>The Appeal to Jupiter</i> <i>Stator (Cat. I, 33)</i>	<i>The Greatness of Rome (VI,</i> <i>846-853)</i>
<i>Sentences from Caesar</i>		
<i>The Beleaguered Camp</i> (B.G. V, 48)		

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SIR HERBERT WARREN ON VERGIL

Vergil in Relation to the Place of Rome in the History of Civilization. By Sir Herbert Warren, K. C. V. O. Oxford: Basil Blackwell (1921). Pp. 36.

This is described on the title page as a lecture given to Oxford University Extension students. Sir Herbert Warren's introductory remarks (3-13) are somewhat unnecessary, and in one or two places, in their account of Vergil's life and early writings, more or less fanciful. After this, the more serious and important part of the lecture begins, with the statement that Vergil studied nature not merely to utilitarian ends, but because he desired to understand both this world and the next, to find salvation in both. Politically, peace for mankind was to be found in the Roman rule (Aen. 6.851-853). Immediately after this statement we read (14), as follows:

Personally, and for the soul, it was to be found in the doctrine of "the Soul of the World", the belief that we men are tiny sparks of the one, pure, divine fire, and that after the cares and contagion of this troublesome world we are to be reunited and resumed into the ineffable being of the immanent God who fills, and is, the universe.

The highest human virtue is *pietas*. Sir Herbert Warren sees something of an analogy between Pius Aeneas and King Arthur, as represented in Tennyson, *Idylls of the King*. Arthur is, even as Aeneas was, the human soul at war with the passions (14-15).

The real justification of *pietas*, the deeper side of the *Aeneid*, the real key and clue, are to be found in the Sixth Book, as that of the *Idylls* in the *Idyll* of the "Holy Grail". This Book contains the fusion of two worlds, the seen, and the unseen. When Aeneas has visited the world below, he is to be reconciled to, and to be able to deal with, the world of Earth.

On pages 15-25 there is the same desultoriness which characterizes the opening pages. But there are acute and very suggestive remarks on various topics, such as Vergil's extraordinary fitness, by a strange and exceptional preparation, for his "vast task to find an inner faith and sanction for the hard, practical, conquering Roman, and for the Roman Empire. . ." (15), on Vergil's relation to Lucretius (18-19), on the *Eclogues* (22-24), and on the *Georgics* (24-25).

One part of this portion of the paper must be cited in full (20-21):

It has been the part of Rome, it is still her part, perhaps it will be her part yet more in the future, to link together the ancient and the modern civilizations, Paganism and Christianity, to stand between Babylon and Jerusalem, Troy and Athens, on the one hand, and London and Paris, Berlin and Madrid, on the other.

Vergil, the great poet of Rome, more than any other single man or mind, effects the spiritual portion of this *liaison*. He came at the right moment, he enjoyed the

experience, he possessed the education and the genius requisite. He knew the ground, he knew Italy, from the confines of Italian Gaul on which he was born, to Magna Graecia, where he sojourned; he knew Greece, and probably the Levant. He had experience both of the Republic and the Empire, and was the contemporary, as boy and man, of all Rome's very greatest figures, of Caesar and Pompey, Antony and Augustus, Cicero and Maecenas, Lucretius, Catullus, and Horace.

He was an immense student, familiar with all the range of Greek art and thought, poetry and philosophy. He could absorb it all and hand it on in a new, individual form and language, for before transmitting it he made it all his own.

He is the most imitative—fortunate is it for the part he was to play that he is so—yet, at times, the most original poet in the world. I began this lecture by noting how the surge and roar of Garda still echo in his lines. Not Wordsworth's "Loud is the Vale" is more spontaneous or true. . . .

He imitates Theocritus, but he knew the shepherd, and the goat-herd, the boor and the belle of the countryside, for himself. He imitates Hesiod and Aratus, but he knew the star and the soil, the arable and the pasture, the forest and the marsh, the stud and the stock, the beasts and birds and bees, the wolf, the fox and the mole; the goose, the crane, and the crow; the snake, the lizard and the frog, for himself. He imitates Homer—and here, perhaps, his experience fell short. He had not seen the Homeric battle or the Homeric life. But he was nearer them than we are.

He had studied his Sophocles and his Apollonius Rhodius. Dido recalls both Ajax and Medea, but Dido is no echo nor Camilla either, and Virgil had done what Homer had not, he had lived in the days of Clodia and Cleopatra.

The concluding pages (25-36) are concerned mainly with the *Aeneid*. The discussion begins with the following passage:

. . . What is its character, and what its secret?
Love thou thy land, with love far-brought
From out the storied Past, and used
Within the Present, but transfused
Thro' future time by power of thought.

Virgil's love of Italy and Rome, as it speaks in the *Aeneid* has all these *three* characters. He tells the story of Rome's far off beginnings, of her colossal conflict for the rule of the world; he introduces, with extraordinary skill, her present greatness; and foretells her long meridian of glory.

Vergil, continues the author, sounds with clear and immortalizing voice the triumphs of Rome. But he was aware also of the transiency of triumphs (26).

. . . Did not the slave ride in the conqueror's car to remind him that he was mortal? Virgil was the voice of Rome, and of proud Rome, a proud voice, but a voice with tears in it too.

Here Sir Herbert Warren cites Vergil's "most famous, his most Virgilian, his most untranslatable line" (1. 462).

. . . Virgil everywhere has praise for human achievement and for man in his strength, but tears also, it may

be proud tears, for human failure, tears alike for friend and foe, tears for Polydorus, for Dido, for Marcellus; for Camilla and Lausus no less than for Nisus and Euryalus and the incomparable Pallas. . . .

By way of illustration Sir Herbert Warren cites Aeneid 11. 96-99.

The author thinks that poets "are best understood by poets, and perhaps the greatest by the greatest". These are the things that Dante found in Vergil (27):

. . . a love of Italy, a glorious style, a pagan piety, a belief in an under-world and after life, a picture of Hell, Purgatory and Heaven, a belief in a Holy, a divinely appointed, Empire of Rome over the world.

And these remain the great notes of Virgil. They are the notes brought out by that other great poet of empire, our own Tennyson, in that marvellous Ode "written at the request of the Mantuans" for the nineteenth centenary of their great poet's death.

There follows a declaration that Tennyson's "marvellous Ode" was the outcome of the love of a lifetime for Vergil. "This Tennyson told me himself, as he tells it to the world in his Ode". By way of illustration, Sir Herbert Warren asks us to compare with Aeneid 5.612-616, the passage in The Lotus Eaters: "They sat them down upon the yellow sand. . . we will no longer roam"; with Aeneid 3. 590-595, the passage in Enoch Arden running as follows:

Downward from his mountain grove,
Stept the long-hair'd long-bearded solitary,
Brown, looking hardly human, strangely clad.

On page 29 the author makes the interesting statement that Tennyson himself cited to him as an illustration of his own "wonderful expression", "All the charm of all the Muses often flowering in a lonely word", the phrase *cunctantem ramum*. Tennyson himself had written the expression "the lithe reluctant bough". In this connection, reference may be made to the paper by Mr. A. L. Keith, The Lonely Word in Vergil, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.36-37.

Sir Herbert Warren then reminds us (29) that Aeneid 2.440-447 is reproduced in condensed form in The Dream of Fair Women:

Corpses across the threshold, heroes tall
Dislodging pinnacle and parapet
Upon the tortoise creeping to the wall,
Lances in ambush set?

In connection with Tennyson's relation to Vergil, reference may be made here to the volume by Professor W. P. Mustard, Classical Echoes in Tennyson (Macmillan, 1904). See the chapter, Tennyson and Virgil (91-105). On the relation of Tennyson to Vergil see also Elizabeth Nitzchie, Vergil and the English Poets, 224-229 (Columbia University Press, 1919). For a review of this book, by Professor M. B. Ogle, see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.25-29. There is no discussion, by the way, in Professor Mustard's book, of Keats's relation to Vergil, a matter discussed by Sir Herbert Warren (29-32).

But what has not been noticed is that he <Keats> makes a far more serious and important borrowing, the borrowing of a faith. In the memorable letter on "Soulmaking", which he writes to George and Georgiana Keats, in which he tries to beat out and explain his ideas of the nature of the Soul and the Intelligence, and their relation to God, he says, that the Intelli-

gence is a spark of the divinity, but that it does not become a soul until, by its earthly experience, it acquires an Identity. At death this spark returns to God.

This doctrine is the central doctrine of Endymion:

"Wherein lies happiness? In that which beckons
Our ready minds to fellowship divine,
A fellowship with Essence till we shine
Full alchemised and free of space. Behold
The clear religion of Heaven".

Keats himself in a letter to his publisher, John Taylor, says that he had spent much time and trouble over this passage. "My having written that argument", he says, "will perhaps be of the greatest service to me of anything I ever did".

But where did Keats find this "clear religion"?

He found it in Virgil. It is the doctrine of the *Anima Mundi*, set out, as all know, in a famous passage in the Sixth Aeneid.

The desultoriness of this lecture, to which reference has once or twice been made above, makes it extremely difficult to formulate any clear outline of its contents. Yet, it may be said, without hesitation, that every reader and lover of Vergil will find in it many suggestive remarks.

CHARLES KNAPP

EXPERIMENTS WITH TRANSLATIONS¹

"The day is past", wrote Mr. James Loeb in 1912—and I fear that we must accept his verdict—"when schools could afford to give sufficient time and attention to the teaching of the ancient languages to enable the student to get that enjoyment out of classical literature that made the lives of our grandfathers so rich". It seemed to him imperative that something be done "to revive the lagging interest in ancient literature". This *something* is growing to vast proportions in the Loeb Classical Library, those colorful red-green volumes of Greek or Latin original and English translation.

I am no stolid heretic. With most that has been said about the inadequacy of translations, I concur. It is just as logical, I agree, to advocate reading French, German, and Spanish authors in translation as to advocate reading the Classics in translation. I admit that the spirit and the individuality of the original are normally dulled by the translator's overtones. I shall even venture so far as to hold that one absorbs a keener appreciation from the humblest transliteration that is his own than from a worthy translation of another.

On the other hand, I am distressed that there are so few who indulge in the ecstasy of even a humble transliteration, and still fewer who attain the worthy translation. I would question the allegations in the pamphlet on The Classics in British Education (published in 1919 by the British Ministry of Reconstruction: see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.105-106, 144), that translation is especially "helpful in accelerating the progress of the weaker scholar" and that "if a student has once mastered the elements of Greek and Latin, his comprehension of the greater masters will be much assisted by the use of a competent version"—these

¹This paper was read at the Eighteenth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, at The Episcopal Academy, Overbrook, Pennsylvania, on May 2, 1924.

statements I would question, I say, if British scholarship and British cultivated readers laid them open to question.

Since, however, the contrary is true of the British scholar and cultured reader and since it is we who occasionally have to question our own methods, I am impressed by the remarks of Professor Gilbert Norwood, of University College, Cardiff, on *The Loeb Classical Library*, in the *London Mercury* for April, 1923 (compare the *Living Age* for June 23, 1923, pages 717 ff.): "Its volumes are a godsend to the man who knows a great deal of Latin and Greek, but who has gone rusty", to those "who are studying Greek and Latin without a teacher", and to those "who amid great difficulties are learning those languages". To all these, he maintains, the *Loeb Classical Library* has opened the "pleasure of literary study" that is the "most solid, most engrossing, most pleasant" of all literary studies. Since the types that he mentions are to be found in most American Colleges—the ignorant, the rusty, the untaught, and the strugglers—, why is there not an opportunity to entrust to them the gifts of the gods and to put Professor Norwood's theories to the test?

Guided by reflections such as these and goaded by the insinuations of critics, we at Swarthmore are trying the experiment of introducing into several courses in Latin literature the legitimate use of English translations. A 'legitimate use' of translations is interpreted to mean the use of them as a convenient lexicon, grammar, instructor, and as an aid to wide, rapid reading. The combination has been tested with Catullus in the latter half-semester of the Freshman year. For at ext-book F. W. Cornish's translation, in the *Loeb Classical Library*, is used. "Heaven preserve my Freshmen", said a recent critic, "from carrying away their impression of Catullus through Mr. Cornish". Even though I echo this prayer, I seem to hear Catullus's loud laugh of joy at being rescued by Mr. Cornish from the jargon of collegians in suburban districts.

But it is not a Cornish Catullus that engrosses our attention in the class-room. It is Catullus of Verona. For class-room use there are copies of the text without translation. Most of the hour is spent in reading and commenting upon the Latin, in an effort to interpret the spirit and the personality of Catullus, and his literary style. Quantities of verses are learned by heart. Always the Latin is read, in unison, in monody, in alternate measure, in choral parts, or in single part with choral refrain.

Familiarity with content is tested by comment or query, by outline or summary, by occasional translation. Variety is sought in every way. Now an oral translation is called for, or a written translation is demanded without warning. Now a choice lyric is set for special effort, and verse translations are encouraged. For further variety and inspiration frequent English echoes and adaptations of Catullus are cited from Ben Johnson, Carew, Cowley, Herrick, Prior, and many others (compare here the paper by Dr. Eleanor S. Duckett, *Some English Echoes of Catullus*, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 15:177-180).

By this method of study and presentation it is possible to increase the quantity of reading, without diminishing the quality, if requirements are strict enough. There is more time to rehearse the rhythms, more time for supplementary, correlative reading. Catullus becomes a friend and a vivid personality; his rhythms gradually grow familiar. First are read selections from the poems that deal with his life apart from Lesbia. They stir interest and sympathy for his friends, his moods, his enthusiasms, his loves and his hates, his ardent spirit that effervesces now with a rhapsody for home and *venusta Sirmio*, now with the haunting dirge for his brother, *frater ave atque vale*. The longer poems, the *Epithalamia*, *Peleus* and *Thetis*, the *Attis*, are read in the main in translation, chiefly for their antiquarian, mythological, or literary interest. But due time is spent on their rhythm, especially the charming refrains of the *Epithalamia*; and the weird but vigorous *Galliambics* of the *Attis* are compared with Tennyson's adaptation in his *Boadicea*. The *Lesbia* lyrics close the course with an appealing climax, as the poet's passion is traced from tenderness, ecstasy, and transport to the dismay, despair, and disgust that ended in complete disillusionment and a broken heart.

What results are to be claimed for this experiment? After so brief an experience it is difficult to measure them. Suffice it to say that the examination papers after the first trial were a joy to read, and that is not an expression that is normally applied to examination books. One of the directions was to write an appreciation of Catullus, using as illustrations the quotations that had been memorized. On this the returns were decidedly encouraging. "Even my dull ear", wrote one youth—and for his rustic ear, be it affirmed, he cherished no false modesty—"even my dull ear can appreciate the music of Catullus's verse". After writing at some length, he naively concluded: "Catullus lived a life full of emotional riots. Catullus is worth all the Latin I ever suffered". Another youth burst into hendecasyllables at the end of his paper, scribbling with a flourish, *Quid me laetius ac beatiusve*, but, until disillusionment betrays me, I shall apply his sentiment to the examination, not to the course!

Another experiment I shall describe briefly, though it is probably more of an innovation. At the beginning of the second term this year I was confronted with the question as to whether a scheduled course in Roman satire required a knowledge of Latin. "It most certainly does", was the instinctive, instantaneous reply. But upon reflection it seemed unhumane, and unnecessary, to crush an interest, particularly a masculine interest, in Roman satire because the would-be enthusiast had the misfortune to be untutored in the rudiments of Latin. The possibility of combining Latinists and non-Latinists in a single course in Latin literature appealed to my imagination. Each group, it seemed to me, would have something to contribute to the other. The coalition was consummated.

The class was a small one of five members. Three of them, women, were Latin "majors"; one boy read Latin haltingly and laboriously, the other, until enter-

ing the course, had never come into contact with a word of Latin! Both were interested in literature. The Latin majors were under contract not to use the translations of others for their special assignments. Most painstakingly they wrote their own versions to be read aloud in class and compared with the words of professionals. Each had a different allotment and was responsible for detailed comment upon it. The boys, using translations, read more extensively in the Latin authors, and so filled in the gaps; they also did much parallel and supplementary reading.

The course attempted to cover a large part of the satires of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal, not with the detail of a seminar, but with the interest of a critical and interpretative course in literature. Horace's first book of Satires and the Art of Poetry were read rather carefully; the rest of the Satires and Epistles were treated more cursorily. Conington's translation was used. The subject-matter was classified as autobiographical, philosophical, and literary, and was taken up in that order. Special attention was given to Horace as a practical philosopher and a literary critic.

Only two days were allotted to the six satires of Persius, but the papers that were presented comparing Horace and Persius as satirists exhibited more than a modicum of understanding. The translation used was again Conington's. Juvenal in the original and in translation, by Dryden, chiefly, concluded the course. The time was devoted largely to the first, third, sixth, and tenth Satires. With these were compared Dr. Samuel Johnson's *London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, and echoes in Dickens, Thackeray, and others (compare *Some Illustrations of Juvenal's Third Satire*, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*, 14.113-114, 121-122). Emphasis was laid on Juvenal as a source for the study of Roman life, but especially on the development of Roman satire from Lucilius to Juvenal, and on Juvenal as the principal source for the imitators of classical satire compare Raymond MacDonald Alden, *The Rise of Formal Satire in England* (University of Pennsylvania publication, 1899).

These experiments are submitted for discussion and criticism and counter proposals. The method, of course, requires modification to suit varying conditions. It might not be satisfactory for large classes, for elementary students, or for unreliable students. If an apology is necessary for wasting time with trifles, the apology is humbly offered. But it seemed wise to go into detail in order to make clear that no lowering of standards is advocated. So far as the experience of the writer is concerned, these methods admit no relaxation of effort on the part of the student, and certainly the instructor has never toiled harder! Any scheme has its drawbacks; if well guarded, this has many advantages. Since hand in hand with its use of translation go greater attention to the Latin original and a wider comparative study, whatever is lost in some respects should be amply offset by a more intelligent power of literary criticism and a richer literary appreciation².

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE

ETHEL HAMPSON BREWSTER

²With the basic idea of Professor Brewster's paper may be compared certain utterances previously published in *THE CLASSICAL*

XENOPHON AND DIO CHRYSOSTOM

There has been much discussion of the merits of Xenophon and of his rank among classical writers¹. It is a familiar fact that he sometimes departs from the best Attic norm, especially in the free use of the final particle *ὤς*, and in the excessive employment of the preposition *ὅν*, where such a writer as Isocrates would have used *μετά*.

The judgment of Dio Chrysostom is of great importance, for he was himself an expert in the field of literary criticism, and his knowledge of all phases of literature, even the most remote, is hardly to be equalled by that of any other writer of that age of general enlightenment.

In one of Dio Chrysostom's writings it is assumed that a friend of wealth and of leisure is ambitious to win distinction in statesmanship, and, more especially, in public and political oratory, and that this friend has consulted Chrysostom as to the surest means of gaining this ambition. The reply to this request is found in a treatise, *De Dicendi Exercitatione*, Oratio XVIII.

After reviewing the merits of the various classes of literature and weighing the excellencies of the different writers, Dio concludes thus (I give the passage in condensed form):

'I believe that Xenophon alone of all the ancients is able to suffice for a man bent on political success. If one wishes to learn how a general should lead an army, a statesman a city, or how an orator should address a popular assembly, a senate, or a court, he should regard Xenophon as the best guide in all these things.

His thoughts are clear, simple, and easily understood, while his style is direct, pleasing, convincing, and possessed of great cumulative power, so that his ability seems to rest not so much in the gift of oratory as in the spell of magic.

If you will study with care the plan and execution of the *Anabasis*, you will see that it contains every oratorical excellence which is essential to success in the career of an orator.

He shows how discouraged men are to be cheered and stimulated, and he does it so simply that no one who understands Greek can fail to be inspired by reading these speeches; he so thrills me that I cannot control my emotions as I read him.

And he shows equally well how eager men are to be directed against the foe, how they are to deceive the foe to his injury and friends for their own good, and how they are to conduct themselves before generals, populaces, and kings.

Xenophon combines action and speeches with such skill and power that I can assure you that you will never regret the time spent in his mastery, for no matter what your audience may be, whether the people or the Senate, you will find in him a constant helper always standing with outstretched hand, eager to assist you¹.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

JOHN A. SCOTT

WEEKLY: by Professor W. B. McDaniel, *A Proper Use of Translations: Excerpts for Sight Reading of Latin*, 13.33-34, by Professor Knapp, 13.106, 16.161, 17.137, by Professor E. T. Sage, 15.152, and by Mr. John W. Spaeth, Jr., 13.190-191.

¹Compare e.g. R. Guernsey, *Elements of Interest in the Anabasis*, 3.66-69, Mr. David Buffum (in abstracts, with comments, by Professor Lodge), 5.137, Henry Ryecroft, *The Anabasis as a Work of Art*, 6.215, Colonel Arthur Boucher (in abstracts, with comment, by Professor Knapp), 8.33, C. J. Goodwin, 17.130 ("... Xenophon, that second-rate writer. . .").

REVIEWS

From Augustus to Augustine: Essays and Studies Dealing with the Contact and Conflict of Classic Paganism and Christianity. By Ernest G. Sihler. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1923). Pp. xii + 335.

In a volume entitled *From Augustus to Augustine*, Professor Sihler has collected certain essays and studies composed by him in the years 1916 to 1921, and published in various issues of the *Biblical Review*, in 1916 to 1922. In the first essay, *The Spiritual Failure of Classic Civilization* (1-26), he protests most vigorously against the "enormous amount of cant and phrase-mongering", "weariness" and "senility" of our modern classicism. He sighs (2) for our souls "dulled by the geological strata superimposed upon the texts in the form of erudition and ever-narrowing micrology during the last four hundred years—grammar, dialects, etymologies, phonetics—comparative and otherwise, biographical studies . . ." And thus we are led to the truly humanistic purpose of these studies, "to examine with particular care the contact and conflict of Christianity with the Pagan world". The method employed, as Professor Sihler constantly reminds us, is to lean on no one, but "to bring out the sources with absolute fairness and fidelity as far as in me lay". Accordingly we look for and actually find the author speaking very positively on the authority of the sources as he himself understands them, and bringing in the opinions of such others only ("examined with candid care", as he himself assures us) as he sees fit. In other words, the reader does not feel that he is reading the work of a scholar who has considered, even under careful scrutiny, all the best modern opinion on the subject, but rather the work of an independent writer who considers the opinions of such others only and in such a manner as he himself pleases.

As already said, Chapter I deals with *The Spiritual Failure of Classic Civilization*. The writer convincingly argues (17) that "Chastity was no moral postulate in the Hellenic world at large; when met, however, it was to them a startling and utterly remarkable phenomenon, a *prodigium*".

Chapter II is entitled *Stoicism and Christianity* (27-53). Professor Sihler has little sympathy with the enthusiasm of certain writers who would elevate Stoicism to extreme heights, in the case of Gibbon with a fanaticism of hatred against Christianity.

Chapter III, *Under the Antonines* (54-82), continues this discussion of the "contact and conflict" during that period, and contains particularly excellent accounts of the philosophies of Marcus Aurelius and Lucian. A protest, often heard but less and less justified in recent years, is voiced in the following words (54): ". . . how slender is the share which the professional classicists hold in such inquiries, and also, how rarely the professional divinity scholar is a thoroughly well read classicist".

Chapter IV discusses, in connection with the general theme, Clement of Alexandria (83-114). Here Professor Sihler makes special mention of Dr. Charles

Bigg's *Bampton Lectures, The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (Oxford, 1886), and his careful studies of Clement. More than one scholar familiar with the literature of the subject will be surprised at this solitary tribute. The statement is also made (100) that the exegesis of Clement is "utterly steeped in that vicious and fanciful practice of allegorizing, and of sniffing mysterious or hidden meanings accessible only to the esoteric expert, a principle infinitely elastic and infinitely elusive". This seems too sweeping a condemnation, not perhaps of allegorical exegesis as employed at Alexandria, but certainly of allegory in general. Allegory as a vehicle of truth goes back to Plato at least, and has proven a valuable instrument for illuminating the obscure, despite the abuses to which it is inherently subject.

Chapter V treats Tertullian of Carthage (115-138). Professor Sihler's praise of Tertullian (124, 125), too extensive to quote here, is timely and very worthy.

Chapter VI speaks of Neoplatonism and Christianity (139-162); in it the author treats the actual "contact and conflict" of these two forces much more specifically than he has done in the case of Stoicism and Christianity in Chapter II. An hypothesis not often set forth in the works of classicists is presented strikingly here—that, if all of Plotinus and Porphyry, and even of Plato himself, had been annihilated, the faith once delivered to the saints would not have been affected or modified in the slightest degree.

Chapter VII continues the subject *In the Era of Diocletian* (163-189). The author's characterization of the style of Lactantius is very incomplete, tending to leave the reader with a wrong impression. He says (175),

The language of Lactantius is polished and truly classical, as one could expect of one who had attained such professional eminence in his own generation, and whose training in the presentation of fictitious law cases had greatly developed dialectic faculty (I, 1), although he never pleaded in actual courts (III, 13).

Woodham, in his edition of Tertullian's *Liber Apologeticus*, page 21 (Cambridge, 1843) says:

Lactantius is by far the most free of the faults of this age, and by almost as much the most uninteresting of its writers. His style, in which he so prides himself, and which others have given him so much credit for is the most disagreeable of all styles, a spiritless imitation of Ciceronian Latin, the weakness of which is particularly apparent after the perusal of Tertullian.

Chapters VIII and IX deal with *The Emperor Julian and His Religion* (190-217) and *The Old Believers in Rome and the Dusk of the Gods* (218-248). Herein are vividly described the vagaries of Julian's religion, including as it did the best that paganism had to offer together with borrowings from Christianity itself, and other phases of the last struggles of classic paganism and Christianity.

The final chapters, entitled respectively *The Earlier Stages of Augustine* (249-278), *The Two Sons of Theodosius and Alaric the Goth* (279-303), and *Augustine's City of God* (304-331) center on St. Augustine and his times. Frankly, there is in them little or nothing new, except perhaps Professor Sihler's

vigorous manner of presentation. St. Augustine's early life is outlined from his own writings, but as has often been done before; the events of the period are set forth as embodied in the activities of Arcadius and Honorius, Alaric, Stilicho, and Jerome; and finally, Paganism and Christianity are presented in contact and conflict as seen in the *De Civitate Dei*. The author says in passing, "he <St. Augustine> is in my estimate the greatest master of Latin prose literature in the generation of Ambrose and Jerome, and of Symmachus, Servius, and Macrobius". The several monographs that have appeared of late on the Latinity of the authors of this period support fully this estimate, although some still give the palm to St. Jerome.

Before closing, we must make mention of a sort of petty religious prejudice constantly cropping up throughout the work, the more remarkable because entirely at odds with Professor Sihler's well-earned reputation as a scholar. Thus, on page 196, where the author is speaking of an exhibition of mantic powers by the swindler Maximus of Ephesus, we read, "He reached such a point in his display that first the cult-figure actually *smiled* (cf. *Lourdes*¹) and later she actually *laughed*. . ." For similar displays of religious prejudice, see pages 22, 60, 114, etc.

The climax of such remarks is reached on page 323, where Professor Sihler says,

. . . In concluding his synoptic Christian chronology, the Bishop of Hippo used these striking words: 'We, therefore, who are, and are called *Christians*, believe *not in Peter* but in Him, in whom Peter believed'. The anti-Jeromian and anti-Romanist stand of the great Bishop is here plainly expressed. Augustine, in a word, is not yet a *Roman Catholic*, and still free from the domination, in *spiritualibus*, of the old capital and its arrogating bishop².

Professor Sihler does not need his italics to emphasize the distinction of his prejudices. It stands out in jarring relief in a work so generally excellent. It stands in ugly relief in the incident of the above quotation. Here is a passage wrenched from its context in the dishonest manner of old-fashioned polemics. We would quote the whole passage, did space permit. Briefly, St. Augustine in this passage is refuting a common charge of the pagans that Christianity arose 'by the magic arts of Peter', and he is attempting to show that it arose through the efficacy of the Holy Ghost with Peter as His instrument. Far from showing the least reluctance on Augustine's part to recognize the primacy of the See of Peter, the passage shows an extreme respect and devotion to Peter as the chief of the Apostles. St. Augustine's stand on this question is fully treated in *Le Catholicisme de Saint Augustin*, by Pierre Batiffol (Paris, 1920: two volumes). We recommend that work to the "candid care" of Professor Sihler.

But why drag in such matters in a series of studies of this kind? Surely they add nothing to our knowledge of the contact and conflict of classic paganism and

Christianity, and they greatly mar an otherwise well-written and stimulating book.

ROY J. DEFERRARI

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Greek Religion and its Survivals. By Walter Woodburn Hyde. Boston: Marshall Jones Company (1923). Pp. ix + 230.

This is a volume in the series, *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*, which treats of the influence of classical antiquity upon our own civilization. As the General Editors say in their Preface (vii), the subject of Greek religion is too large to be treated in a single volume. In this book Professor Hyde discusses only one aspect of the subject, the influence of Greek religion upon Early Christianity and upon modern Greek beliefs, as far as they may be survivals from antiquity. The book is written with full command of the sources of information, though the Bibliography (228-230) strangely emits one of the most important, Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im Neuen*, and, though the author quotes Frazer's Pausanias, he makes no reference to the same author's *Golden Bough*.

The sketch, for in view of the many ramifications of the subject it can hardly be called more than that, opens with a chapter on Some Aspects of Ancient Greek Religion (3-40). Professor Hyde emphasizes as peculiarly Greek the complete absence of dogma, creed, and sacred books, although in this respect Greece seems to me not to have differed from Rome, or from many other religions, as those of the Germans and of the Slavs, or from various primitive tribes. Not enough stress, it seems to me, has been laid on the fact that for all but the 'revealed' religions the essence of the attitude toward the supernatural rests not on belief, but on custom, the *Dromena*, or ritual, of the cult. To call attention to the historical growth of Greek religion, the phantastic mongrel-shaped deities as revealed by the 'Island Gems', the obscure, but ceaseless struggle between the beliefs of the 'Mediterranean' aborigines and those of the northern 'Aryan' invaders, the powerful influences from the Orient which Gruppe has proven, even if he has probably stressed them unduly, was perhaps out of place in a book of general and popular character, though our author, in the wake of Rohde, does not fail to sketch the importance of the Thracian, enthusiastic, orgies for the development of the belief in immortality and the possible union of god and worshipper, which was to come to its full mystic maturity during the centuries of dying paganism.

It is hardly true, either, that the sense of duty toward one's fellowmen was sadly missing in Greek religion. Else, how can we explain the sanctity of strangers under the protection of Zeus Xenios, or the duty of giving burial even to total strangers?

That the Greek gods, like all others, were made in the image of man, and had all the human shortcomings, is of course true, just as it is true that loftier spirits struggled hard to reconcile this trait with the demands of morality, and therefore refined and elevated the Greek gods until they reached, in the hearts of an Aeschylus and

¹The italics in *smiled* and *laughed* are Professor Sihler's; those in *Lourdes* are mine.

²The italics in this quotation are Professor Sihler's. The passage referred to by him is in *De Civitate Dei* 18.54.

a Sophocles, a height as lofty as that reached by any other divine being.

The brief account of the survival of primitive religious views in classical Greek religion is good, though all too sketchy, and so is the treatment of the gods in Homer, and of both his and popular eschatology, a presentation based frankly on Rohde's *Psyche*, and giving due credit to the contributions of Orphicism and of the Mysteries to the production of the belief in a real immortality. On the other hand, I cannot concede that the most impressive characteristics of Greek religion were beauty and joy. Beauty, yes, because everything this gifted nation touched was made beautiful by it, but joy certainly was found only in certain cults, while other rituals, such as the Chytiria and the Buphonia, seem to me deeply tinged with sadness. Nor can fear have been so completely eliminated from the Greek soul as Professor Hyde wants us to believe. Otherwise, why the constant dread of the envy of the gods, of unstinted praise, of a Nemesis that overtakes him who transgresses the right?

The remaining chapters are less controversial, for they deal with the survival of pagan belief in modern Greek religion. Professor Hyde first discusses the influence upon early Christianity (41-85), not so much that Hellenizing process which through Paul and the Gnosis has left so deep and lasting an impress on the Church of Christ, as the influence on the ceremonial of the service and on the reception of the Saints into the Church, as well as on the Church festivals. In these pages the author's attitude is that of sound and sane criticism, sometimes perhaps too sceptical. Thus, when he says that the Greek priest, often as ignorant as his flock, does not try to interpret, because he neither feels nor understands the mixture of paganism and Christian rites, he probably goes too far. Perhaps he has never read the touching story of the Timid Priest, by Dimitrios Bikelas, which is a masterpiece of insight into the soul and thought of a simple village *pappas*. We must agree with Professor Hyde in his judgment that it is doubtful whether the great gods were turned into Christian Saints as often as many scholars have somewhat rashly assumed. Of course, scepticism in this direction may go too far; for I, at least, think that Usener's Pelagia, a model of critical and historical research, represents one of the most assured identifications of a pagan goddess with a Saint.

The author is on much safer ground in the following chapters, which deal with Festivals (86-115), Divination and Sacrifice (116-134), Daemonology (135-174), and Destiny, Guardian Angels, Death, and the Life Hereafter (193-221). Yet here, too, there are statements which may be challenged. The Athenian ship procession at New Year's, which Professor Hyde tentatively refers back to the Panathenaic ship that carried the Peplos, and whose introduction he is inclined to date under Pisistratus, is probably a much older agricultural rite (see Usener, *Sintflutsagen*, 127 ff.), celebrating the epiphany of the newly-growing light, just as the noisy devices of the day before may go back to the noisy dance of the Curetes around the

newly-born Zeus babe. On the other hand, one can only praise highly the author's short discussion of the survival of Incubation, as well as his statements about curative rites and the offering of models of parts of the human body.

Again, it is perhaps too much to say that no country exists to-day in which everyday life is so molded by common superstition as Greece. Certainly, as far as my rather extensive reading goes, there is no country—and, I suppose, our author speaks only of the so-called civilized nations—which is free from the influence of superstitions, and surely Italy (see Trede, *Das Heidentum in der Römischen Kirche*) is an easy rival for the honor.

The discussion of the Nereids (140-150) contains certain contradictions, probably due to inadvertence. Thus not only Rome, but also Greece, worshipped Hecate at the crossroads. It is a strange statement that the ancient Nymphs were benevolent, when Professor Hyde himself speaks of the *nympholeptoi*, and when we think of the meaning of *lymphaticus*. For the meaning and the history of the word *stoicheia* it would be well to compare what Dornseiff has to say in his *Mystik der Zahlen und des Alphabets*. A methodological error, it seems to me, lies in the assertion that the fear inspired by the grotesque masks of the Christmas procession caused the belief in the demoniac nature of these spirits. For, surely, it should be selfevident that the assuming of the masks presupposes the belief in the existence of the spirits whose appearance the masker pretends to assume. On the other hand, the discussion of the "vrykolakas" or vampire merits unstinted praise, as does the closing one on the Moirai and on Charos = Death himself, of whom Professor Hyde might more confidently have asserted the ancient origin.

Whatever criticisms I may have offered, I should like to have interpreted as made in the friendliest spirit. The book, brief as it is, is packed with curious and interesting information, and it fulfils admirably its purpose to show the great and lasting influence of Hellenic antiquity upon modern times.

HUNTER COLLEGE

ERNST RIESS

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

II

National Geographic Magazine—September, Crossing the Libyan Desert, A. M. Hassenden Bey [47 illustrations]; Zigzagging Across Sicily, Melville Chater [45 illustrations].—October, Crossing Asia Minor, the Country of the New Turkish Republic, Major Robert Whitney Imbrie [with 32 illustrations].

Purdue University, Bulletin of, Publications of the Engineering Department, Vol. 8, No. 1, March—The Physical Characteristics of Speech Sound, Mark H. Liddell [Bulletin No. 16, Engineering Experiment Station, Lafayette, Indiana. Published in March, 1924. 55 pages].

School and Society—Jan. 12, Cultural Possibilities of Practical Subjects, Jesse H. Bond [a curious attack upon the Classics, whose nature can be illustrated by one quotation: “. . . There is no classical study that offers better opportunity for acquiring ideals of neatness, accuracy, humility, self-reliance and persistence in going through with hard work to a finish than bookkeeping and accounting. Shorthand and typewriting are not far behind”].—May 17, A Report on Students' Attitudes Toward Laboratory Courses, Donald A. Laird, Yale University [a scathing criticism of laboratory courses as conducted in some Colleges at least, with a definite charge that in many cases the students “fake” the experiments they are supposed to do. The article is particularly interesting, in view of the efforts made in some quarters to advertise laboratory courses in Latin or in Greek].—May 24, Latin as a Preparation for French and Spanish, L. E. Cole.

The School Review—May, review, favorable, by Claire C. Thursby, of Frederick Warren Sanford, Harry Fletcher Scott, and Charles Henry Beeson, *A Third Latin Book: Selections from Caesar, Cicero, and Ovid* [see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 17.197-198].—September, The Classics [an unsigned editorial, on the preliminary statement given out by Professor West, in June or July last, concerning the Classical Investigation]; Review, favorable, of Walter Alison Edwards, *Roman Tales Re-told*, Grant Hyde Code, *When the Fates Decree* [a play, in English, based on the *Aeneid*, second edition], and of A. F. Geysler, *Orator Latinus*, “an anthology of elocution selections, in Latin prose”.—October, The Classical Issue in French Secondary Schools [an unsigned editorial in a periodical always unfriendly—and often unfair—to the Classics].

Teachers College Record, May—A Service Bureau for Classical Teachers, A Report of Progress [unsigned. See pages 258-260].—November, The Eternal Controversy in French Secondary Education, Albert A. Méran [deals with the French educational reforms of 1923. See the review by Dr. A. P. Ball, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 17.148-149, of L. Bérard, *Pour la Réforme Classique de l'Enseignement Secondaire*]. CHARLES KNAPP

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

III

Bulletin Bibliographique et Pédagogique du Musée Belge—Oct. 15, 1923, *Les Nouveaux Programmes Scolaires en France*, Fernand Hauser [summarizes the reforms <for which see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*, 17.120, 148-149> with approval, cites Descartes as having favored a similar union of science and belles-lettres, and praises M. Bérard for his part in restoring ‘this method which is neither ancient nor modern, but eternal’]; reviews, by Albert Willem, of J. Van Ooteghem, *Homère, Iliade* (Chant I) [the work reviewed comprises a vocabulary for *Iliad* I, which is called, by the reviewer, almost too complete, as it

removes all difficulties, but which is said to be careful and to contain many valuable illustrations], of Mario Meunier, *Euripide, Les Bacchantes* [‘popular, yet learned’], of G. Italie, *Euripidis Hypsipyla* [a work of ‘solid erudition and critical sense’], of J. H. Thiel, *Xenophontos Poroi* [‘one of the most complete documents on the subject’], of R. Nihard, *Platon, Ion* [it is stated that this little book will render real service in the interpretation of an interesting text that has too long been neglected]; review, by J. Hubaux, of Kurt Witte, *Der Bukoliker Vergil und Horaz und Vergil* [both works, unfortunately, had to be confined to outline form, because of the shortage of paper in Germany. The first deals with the question of strophic division; the author finds symmetry both in Vergil and in Theocritus, but in order to do so he employs methods which the reviewer considers too arbitrary, too rigid, and too minute, though valuable for the amoebean poems. The second maintains that Horace's sixteenth Epode, and likewise the *Ciris*, should be regarded as a copy of, and not a model for, Vergil]; review, by R. Scalais, of Albert Willem, *Horace, Odes, Livre Ier* [provides a vocabulary for each ode]; review, favorable, by Albert Willem, of F. Doudinot de La Boissière, *Tacite, Oeuvres Choiesies* [includes part of the *Dialogus*, the *Agricola* and the *Germania* complete, and long selections from the *Histories* and the *Annals*]; review, by Albert Willem, of H. C. Nutting, *Cicero's Conditional Clauses of Comparison* [the reviewer points out that the work in part cannot be adapted to French; he mentions with approval the fact that the author's conclusions are accompanied by prudent reservations, which leave in the reader's mind the impression that the question is not completely settled, and cites as the work's principal merit the statistics which it provides, permitting each reader to judge for himself]; review, by G. Hinnisdals, of J. Marouzeau, *L'Ordre des Mots dans la Phrase Latine* [‘very clear and very complete’]; review, by Pierre Debouxhtay, of J. Ernest Borschadt, *Essai sur l'Originalité et la Probité de Tertullien dans son Traité contre Marcion* [this work, which the reviewer considers excellent, concludes that Tertullian does not seem original or upright]; review, by J. Levie, of Leo V. Jacks, *St. Basil and Greek Literature* [said to be careful and useful, but too extended and ambitious: see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 17.175-176]; review, by Paul Graindor, of G. Millet, *L'Ecole Grecque dans l'Architecture Byzantine* [said to be abundantly illustrated and documented, and to exhibit ‘penetrating analysis and mastery’]; review, by Paul Graindor, of Henri Grégoire, *Recueil des Inscriptions Grecques Chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* [contains 534 inscriptions—‘a scholarly work to be read with great profit’]; review, by P. Champagne, of Marcel Hoc, *Étude sur Jean-Gaspard Gevaerts, Philosophe et Poète* [a contribution to the history of Belgian humanism, ‘well arranged and agreeable to read’].

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